Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8768
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PDEV UK RH

SUMMARY: RHODESIA: DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

SUMMARY: GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION DIVIDED BY SIX VOTES IN YESTERDAY'S DEBATE ON RHODESIA. THE SPLIT IS MORE SYMBOLIC THAN SUBSTANTIVE AT THIS POINT BUT MARKS AN INTERRUPTION IN BRITISH BIPARTISANSHIP ON RHODESIA AND PUSHES THE TORIES CLOSER TO A COMMITMENT TO VOTE AGAINST CONTINUED SANCTIONS IN NOVEMBER. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA LOOKING DOWN FROM THE GALLERY, PARLIAMENT YESTERDAY DEBATED AN ADJOURNMENT MOTION ON THE QUESTION OF RHODESIA. THE GOVERNMENT CARRIED THE VOTE BY SIX, 171 TO 165. DAVID OWEN, EITHER BECAUSE OF HIS SLIPPED DISC OR POLITICAL CAUTION, OPENED THE DISCUSSION WITH A SUBDUED PRESENTATION DESCRIBING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MERITS OF GENERAL WESTERN DIPLOMACY AND RECENT SUCCESSES IN NAMIBIA AND ZAIRE/ANGOLA. OWEN SAID THIS KIND OF PROGRESS UNDERSCORED THE NEED TO WORK WITH VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL GROUPINGS SUCH AS THE UN, THE COMMONWEALTH THE OAU, AND WESTERN ALLIES IN ORDER TO BRING BRITISH INFLUENCE TO BEAR ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS. HE DOUBTED THERE WERE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRONT BENCHES OF

BOTH PARTIES BUT APPEALED TO THE TORIES NOT TO MAKE RHODESIA A PARTY ISSUE IN THE WEEKS PRECEDING A POSSIBLE ELECTION IN BRITAIN.

- 2. OWEN SAID A VOTE AGAINST THE CALLAGHAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE MISCONSTRUED ABROAD. TO APPEAR WILLING TO LIFT SANCTIONS, HE SAID, WOULD MEAN CONFRONTATION WITH MOST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY; TO ABANDON SANCTIONS MEANS TO ABANDON INFLUENCE, A CONCEPT WHICH THE US SENATE HAD RECOGNIZED IN SUPPORTING THE CASE/JAVITS AMENDMENT.
- 3. DESPITE WEEKS OF PREPARATION, THE REPLY OF JOHN DAVIES LACKED CLARITY AND THE ELECTRICITY THAT SO MANY HAD EXPECTED. HE EMPHASIZED THAT CONSERVATIVES HAD ALWAYS SOUGHT TO AVOID PARTISANSHIP ON RHODESIA BUT THEN WENT ON TO REVIEW OPPORTUNITIES MISSED BY THE LABOR GOVERNMENT AND ITS "WEAK-KNEED" FOREIGN SECRETARY. DAVIES LAMENTED THAT GUERRILLA GUNS SHOULD ACT AS A VETO ON NEGOTIATIONS. THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT IS INADEQUATE, HE SAID, AND RECOGNITION WOULD BE PREMATURE, BUT THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT DESERVED SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT. BRITISH NEUTRALITY IS A DERELICTION OF RESPONSIBILITY, AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE REGIME WOULD SERVE TO REDRESS THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

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4. ONLY AT THE END OF HIS SPEECH DID DAVIES MENTION SANCTIONS. HE SAID THE CONSERVATIVES WOULD WAIT TO DECIDE THIS ISSUE, BUT IF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SEEMED INTENT ON GENUINE ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER, THEN TORIES WOULD VOTE TO LIFT SANCTIONS WHEN THE QUESTION COMES BEFORE PARLIAMENT IN NOVEMBER.

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5. COMMENT: WHILE HEATED AT TIMES, THE RHODESIA DEBATE SEEMED ANTI-CLIMATIC IN PART BECAUSE THE TORY LEADERSHIP REFRAINED FROM MAJOR DISAGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND IN PART BECAUSE SO MANY MP'S HAD ALREADY DRIFTED AWAY FOR THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS. STILL, THE VOTE HAS SYMBOLIC IF NOT SUBSTANTIVE SIGNIFICANCE. THE GOVERNMENT WON ONLY BY SIX VOTES FROM THE LIBERAL PARTY WHOSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN, JEEMY THORPE, REVEALED HIS INFORMATION THAT SMITH HAD STATED PRIVATELY THERE WOULD BE NO ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA THIS YEAR. MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE TORIES STUCK TOGETHER IN THE VOTE, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE PROFOUND DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE PARTY WHICH DAVIES HOPED TO GLOSS OVER WITH TOUGH RHETORIC. THE CONSERVATIVES SEALED IN A FORMAL VOTE AN CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERRUPTION IF NOT NECESSARILY AN END OF POLITICAL BIPARTISANSHIP ON RHODESIA, AND THE DIVISION IS LIKELY TO BE OVERPLAYED AND MISUNDERSTOOD IN SALISBURY AND FRONTLINE CAPITALS.

6. ON SANCTIONS, DAVIES REPEATED PUBLICLY WHAT HE HAD TOLD US TWO WEEKS AGO, THAT THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, IN POWER OR IN OPPOSITION, WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS IF THE REGIME SEEHED SET ON FAIR ELECTIONS. THIS STILL LEAVES THE PARTY CONSIDERABLE ROOM FOR INTERPRETATION AND ESSENTIALLY POSTPONES THE ISSUE. WHILE UNHAPPY WITH OWEN'S POLICY AND PERSONALITY, MARGARET THATCHER HAD TOLD HER CONSERVATIVE

BUSINESS COMMITTEE LAST WEEK THAT SHE DID NOT WISH THE PARTY TO COMMIT ITSELF TO A POSITION SO FAR IN ADVANCE OF A POSSIBLE GENERAL ELECTION HERE, AND RIGHT-WING MP'S RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED HER JUDGMENT. WHILE THE IMAGE IS DIFFICULT TO VISUALIZE, JOHN DAVIES THEREFORE TOOK WHIP AND CHAIR IN HAND YESTERDAY WITH A VIEW AS MUCH TOWARDS HIS OWN BACKBENCHERS AS TO THE GOVERNMENT, BUT THE EFFECT WAS TO PUSH THE PARTY CLOSER TO A COMMITMENT TO OPPOSE SANCTIONS IN NOVEMBER.

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